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604 593 587 brother's children.[13] At all the significant occasions when the maternal relatives offer personal or economic assistance the father's brother contributes also.

The father's sister normally has a family and duties of her own, her brother has passed from the extended family to which she is attached, and the sororate-levirate forms can have no effect upon her future position in respect to her brother's offspring. But the restraint relationship which has existed between 604 593 [834] [586] [602] this woman and her brother implies lifelong consideration. No better way of responding to this exists than generosity toward the brother's children. Moreover, a man who is in difficulty with his affinal relatives, angered over his wife's behavior, or divorced is likely to return to the extended family in which he was reared. His sister is one of the members of this social group, and her counsel is of great moment in the formation of decisions. These strong ties of consanguinity are felt by the woman to include her brother's children as well.

601 604 One term means father's brother and father's sister and is extended in use to include father's cousins, male and female. The same term, used as a self-reciprocal, designates a brother's child and, in an extended sense, a male cousin's child.

601 605 593 *Brother-sister and cousin relationships.*—The terminology employed to express the sibling, cousin relationship departs in principle from other sets. There are two self-reciprocal terms in use, but, unlike the other kinship terms, they imply sex difference or similarity between the speaker and the person addressed. *Šikis* literally signifies "sibling or cousin of the same sex as myself," and *šilah* carries the force of "sibling or cousin of the opposite sex from myself." Thus, when a woman says *šikis*, she is speaking of a sister or female cousin; when a man uses the same term, he has in mind a brother or a male cousin. Conversely, when a man says *šilah*, he is referring to a sister or a female cousin, and when a woman employs the same term, she is indicating a brother or a male cousin. The *šikis* term can be said to link relatives of the

[601] [13] In that case a stepfather-stepchild term may be substituted for the father's sibling term (see n. 12, p. 56).

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836 Premarital chastity is expected in the girl. The maidenhead is considered the proof of virginity. A marriage may be abrogated [586] if a bride is found to have been unchaste, and a girl who is deserted [585] for this reason brings disgrace to herself and her family.

But, because of the heightened round of physical activity at about the time of adolescence and the encouragement of early marriage, premarital sexual activity does not become a serious 462 problem. Of great importance, also, is the existence of separate 867 spheres of activity for men and women. This dichotomy tends to draw the child's interest away from situations which involve the other sex and causes him to seek recognition, rather, in those outlets unequivocally masculine or unequivocally feminine.

867 An Apache boy is trained not to pay too much attention to the women. It is 834 not considered manly. The Apache girl is expected to be reserved, and a show of affection in public between the sexes is laughed at. This training becomes a part of the Apache's thought. He sees it all around him. He notices who is laughed at and who is thought well of, and why. This bashfulness, the unwillingness openly to show a lot of feeling for one of the other sex, is carried right through. It comes out in courtship. It comes out even in marriage.

834 Of an aberrant girl who violates the conventions in this re- 156 gard, the following criticism was offered:

Unlike most Chiricahua girls, she is not bashful. If she came in the room here, she would start talking to you. Lots of the old Indians hold this against her. It is considered too forward for a boy to walk up to a girl and start talking a lot. But when I see this girl I go up to her and start talking. I wouldn't dare do that with any other woman. She will hail someone at a dance before a lot of other people. Many of the older people do not like her for this.

834 Since casual contact between the sexes is discouraged, any overt signs of friendliness between men and women suggest the desire for intimacy. Once when an informant had gone to some trouble to reach a man's camp, he declined to wait there for his friend who was expected back in a short time, saying, "Well, it wouldn't look well if C. came and found me here with these women. C. and I are great friends, and I wouldn't want him to think anything bad of me."

"The feeling is that a man should go his way with his friends and a woman her way with her friends." Anything else is effemi- [836] nacy on the man's part, forwardness on the woman's. These are

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606 the same time. Often a man has to duck away or go out the back way before a crowd of people when his mother-in-law comes. They keep it up today and have to be just as careful, although it is sometimes even harder now.

596 606 602 [203] The husband is always conscious of the wishes and attitudes of the affinal relatives he never sees; "the man is ruled by them." Using his wife as messenger, they send him orders and hints of praise or censure. They know as much about his activities as if they shared his household, and he is correspondingly sensitive to [593] their reactions. Said one man: "I know that if I had trouble with my wife, my father-in-law would stick up for her. Your father-in-law tells you to do something, and if you don't do it, you have your wife on your hands, scolding all the time."

606 203 596 A common device of the parents-in-law for communicating directions is to tell their daughter what they want done when they know her husband is within hearing. Once a man with whom I was working paused to tell his daughter that he wanted some rocks, which he considered a hazard to his home, removed. No mention of who should do the work was made. But the implications were clear, and the next day the son-in-law was busy at the task. Soon after, the older man discussed the state of the woodpile in the same impersonal vein, and the following day the son-in-law was chopping wood.

606 203 Much oblique communication passes between avoidance affinities when a situation warrants it:

You can't see your mother-in-law, but that doesn't mean that you don't think a great deal of her. Very likely she's the one you count on most in your wife's family. If you and your wife have trouble, maybe your mother-in-law will stand [593] out of sight and pretend to be talking to the baby or someone else, and she will talk with you and try to settle the trouble you have been having. If she has [586] stood up for you in this way, probably, even if you separate from your wife, you will continue to bring your mother-in-law food and things because you like her.

606 203 521 Sometimes the pretense of indirect discourse is dropped and an actual conversation between the two avoidance affinities takes place:

In cases of emergency, or if you have wronged your wife, your mother-in-law may approach near enough to speak to you. She usually comes at night, but if she comes during the day, she must be behind some object so that you cannot see her face.

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602 likely. Where hostility has existed between the husband and the wife's relative in the past, avoidances which are not obligatory will certainly not be requested.

If the new affinity has formerly been on most familiar terms with the wife's relative, it is felt that the intimate knowledge implied makes difficult the formal behavior of an avoidance [195] obligation. Here, again, the polite form or less is deemed sufficient. Avoidance will also be waived when it is apparent that for some reason the two concerned are likely to be thrown together continually in situations where such behavior would be unfeasible.

Once avoidance has been established by choice, it is indistinguishable from avoidance begun automatically. Upon the marriage of his relative, the person who may exercise choice in respect to avoidance must come to an immediate decision. "There is no such thing as failing to avoid a certain relative-in-law for a number of years and then suddenly deciding to do it. The avoidance starts immediately after the marriage that makes it possible, or it does not occur at all." The decision to establish avoidance must be communicated to the relative at once, so that her husband will know what is expected of him and will not suffer the embarrassment of coming into the presence of one whom he should not see. If the husband and his wife's relative meet face to face before any notice is sent, it is very difficult to carry out the plan of avoidance:

B.'s wife is a distant relative of my wife. After I married I ran into her. I didn't know she was intending to hide from me. She didn't send any message to [195] me. When she saw me she said, "I was going to hide from him, but now I'll just be polite in words" [use polite form].

602 606 586 *The continuation or termination of avoidance.*—Even after the death of the spouse through whom it was established, unless extraordinary steps are taken, avoidance continues. And if the widower marries a woman of another family, the avoidance obligations to his first wife's relatives still persist:

F. was married to M.'s daughter. She died eight years ago. There were no other girls for him to marry in M.'s family when his wife died. He married E.'s girl. He avoids both Mrs. M. and Mrs. E. now.

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K. avoids my mother-in-law, who is his mother-in-law, too, by a first marriage. When his wife died there were no other available girls in the family. So he married outside the family. Now he avoids B., his present mother-in-law, too. 606 586

I hide from my present father-in-law. My first wife's mother was living until recently, and I hid from her too.

Avoidance of the wife's relatives commonly continues, also, after the separation of the married pair. This is all the more remarkable because, with divorce, the family of the woman loses all real claim to the economic support of the former husband. 602 606 586

The perpetuation of the avoidance relations serves a number of functions. It acts as a reminder that marriage is more than a matter of sexual privileges; that it is, in addition, a commitment of co-operation and respect between a man and a family—a commitment which death, remarriage, or divorce cannot entirely efface. Also it encourages a man to remarry into the same family after the death of his wife, for double obligations of this nature loom as a burden to him. Finally, it deters divorce and remarriage into another family with the attendant obligations. [581] [182] [587]

Termination of avoidance in any circumstances is strongly opposed by some informants:

According to the old custom, the person who stops avoiding his in-law is a witch. A man is a fool for stopping. I don't care if you are divorced; it goes on. It could be stopped, of course. I could get angry and say to my wife's relative, "Oh, I'm not going to hide from you any more." But what would people think of me? I wouldn't do it. I'm a good Chiricahua. You can't do it gracefully. The men in the three cases [of duplicate avoidance obligations following remarriage] I have just given you are young fellows. One is thirty-two years old, one is also in his thirties, the oldest is about forty. All were born under government supervision. If the young fellows do it, what do you think about the old fellows? They wouldn't stop doing it. C. told me these forms go on and on. [178]

And yet, under certain conditions, avoidance may be suspended or terminated:[3] 607 606

In an emergency, at the birth or death of a member of the family, in a case of life or death, you can go over avoidance and walk right in to the place where your mother-in-law or someone from whom you hide is. But it's not necessary to drop [195]

[3] The procedure described at this point is also used to terminate the cousin avoidances described on pp. 61–62. [605]

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[195] polite form at this time. You can say anything you want in polite form. This may occur at a birth, when a woman labors so hard that some man who knows how to take care of her is needed. Then they overlook it.

Obligatory avoidances cannot be permanently ended while the woman because of whom the relationship was established is still alive. Even where avoidance was optional, "almost always the woman whose marriage had started the relationship would be asked first and her approval gained if she were still alive."

A man might have bad luck. One after another of his relatives might die. There might be a certain relative whom he avoids, but who he thinks might give him good advice and encouragement if he could talk matters over with him. So he tells his wife that he does not want to avoid her relative any more. If she thinks it is all right, he rolls a cigarette, takes a few puffs on it, and sends it to the relative with word that, after this, they should not hide from each other. If the relative takes the cigarette and smokes it too, it is all over, and they do not hide from each other after that.

The first move may come from either affinal relative:

There was an equal right for either the husband or the woman's relative to roll and send the cigarette. A man might say to his wife: "I no longer want to avoid your brother. I want to be with him and go with him and speak with him." If his wife approved, he would have her take over the cigarette. When the avoidance is broken off like this we say, "It has become again that one goes to him."

[276] Cigarettes offered in this fashion do not have to be accepted:

When a cigarette was offered in this way to end an avoidance relationship, it could be refused, but this refusal would never show anger on the part of the person who refused. A man might say: "We have hidden from each other all these years. All this time we have helped each other and thought well of each other. I do not think our relations would be helped by this move. I would rather hide from you for the rest of my life."

Even when avoidance is abrogated, a measure of formality is retained. "If the two who are hiding from each other smoke a cigarette like that, they don't have to hide from each other any
[195] more. But they have to keep on with the polite form."

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[586] After the death of a man's wife and his remarriage, the obligatory avoidance observances between him and relatives of his first wife may be terminated:

If the family has no more girls he can marry and a man gets permission to marry out of the family after his wife's death, perhaps he will not want to avoid his first wife's father any longer. In that case he will take a cigarette and go

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602 likely to be really informal. These youngsters are among the few
195 individuals of that group with whom the man does not have to exercise care in word and action, and he is soon on grounds of easy familiarity with them. This makes all the more impossible any establishment of future restraint relations with them.

The last statement implies another factor which controls polite-form decisions—the degree of past or present intimacy between the wife's relative and her husband.

If a relative of your wife doesn't want you to use polite form to him, perhaps it is because he likes you very much and wants to go with you as a partner. Then you'd have to sleep together when you were out camping, bathe together, relieve yourselves when you were together, and that would be all right only if he was not ashamed of you in words. If the polite relationship exists, you can't undress, urinate, or do anything personal like that in his presence. If you ever go out with your wife's brother on a hunt and there is only flat country around and no place to hide, the shame relationship would make it hard on you. So, often, the polite form is not entered into for practical reasons.

[601] C. called my father "cousin" [father's brother's son, in this case]. I call C.'s daughter "cousin." When she married, I could have used polite form to her husband. Then he would have had to use it to me. But I did not want to, because we had been pretty intimate. He would have had to act reserved, and it was hard to put him in that position after what had taken place.

But, once it is started, polite form cannot be casually terminated. "If your wife's brother wants to change his relationship
• [586] with you, your wife would object, and a thing like this might even break up the marriage. You can't quit or change in the middle."

602 In reference to the perpetuation of the polite form beyond the
195 life-span of the connecting relative and after divorce, there are
586 these dicta:

We use these forms and usages as long as these people to whom we are acting in this way live. Even if a man's wife dies, this goes on.

We keep up polite forms even after the death of the wife. In case of divorce, polite form continues too.

Polite form is terminated even less frequently than avoidance. If total avoidance becomes an intolerable burden, after a death or divorce it may be scaled down to polite form. But if polite form were discarded, there would be a return to familiar relations

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on the part of persons between whom restraint has been practiced for some time—an abrupt change of demeanor which most individuals do not care to invite.[5]

THE MARRIED MAN AND HIS BLOOD KIN

The formal obligations of a man to his wife's relatives are explicit and numerous, but he is seldom as isolated from his own relatives and friends as a bare recital of affinal relationships would suggest:

There is the word that means one household or home. If the group of related households is very small, if there is only one, or if there are only two or three dwellings in it, you might call this a household still, for we do not like to use the word "extended family" unless there are as many as five or six houses.

"Extended family" means a group of homes occupied by relatives. At the very least an extended family is a father and mother, their unmarried children, and the families of their married daughters.

Several extended families make up the local group. In most cases it includes families which are connected by marriage, and between whose members friendly relations signified by the term "friends we have become" are in force.

It appears, then, that it is not unusual for families whose members have intermarried to belong to the same local group, and often a married man may expect to have consanguineous relatives as well as affinities in the vicinity. One factor which explains why families united by marriage live in such close proximity is the absence, in general, of any obligation to marry out of the local group.

At our encampment we are really an extended family. My father-in-law is here with his father-in-law. I am here with my father-in-law. If my wife's sister marries, there will be another household. Since the people in such an extended family are all related, all the girls and boys of marriageable age are *'ilah* to each other and can't marry. But a man doesn't have to go far for a wife, for there are many extended families near by from which he can choose a wife. Being in the same local group doesn't prevent a man from marrying someone. There has to be real relationship to prevent marriage.

This does not mean that a mate is always chosen from the same local group. Previous marriages within the local group may make this impossible: "Marriages like this went on between

[5] Yet polite form can be terminated to accommodate the sororate-levirate (see p. 424).

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Another quotation extends this information: 602 195 844

> If she is asked to start it [polite form] with the boy's brothers, she can never marry one of them. The reason given for not using polite form to the boy's mother is that his mother may be required to be at the birth of the child of her daughter-in-law, and it would not be right for her to have such intimate dealings with the girl if she used the polite form to her. At the birth of a child, no one who uses polite form to the mother is around.

Other statements explain that the collateral relatives of the husband's grandparents but not the grandparents themselves, may request polite form. 602 195 It appears that the classes of affinities that expect avoidance from the husband are the very ones which, in the woman's affinal constellation, refrain from making even the polite-form request. None of these polite-form usages is obligatory, it should be noted. This time the initiative comes from the husband's relatives. The same sets of terms are utilized; it is the young woman who is called "one who carries burdens for me" by her affinity and who calls her husband's relative "one for whom I carry burdens." [601]

Again, the usage, to be effective, must begin at once. "I could have used polite form to my cousin's wife. It's too late now. I didn't start it from the beginning. My cousin could have used the polite form to my wife, but he didn't either."

In determining whether he will make the request for polite form of the wife, each member of the husband's relationship group is guided by considerations of age, degree of past intimacy, and closeness of connection to the linking relative—the same factors operative in the man's avoidance and polite-form obligations. Polite form between the woman and her affinal relative, once started, also is supposed to continue indefinitely, regardless of the disturbance of the union by divorce or death. [586]

A woman's obligations to her affinities at marriage are slight compared with those to which her husband is subject, but their existence does serve to indicate that she owes consideration to her husband's kin and can never entirely eliminate them from her plans. 602 Their claim upon her is most fully realized at the death of her mate when they can force her to accept a brother or a cousin of the deceased in his stead. [587]

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754 One characteristic often attributed to the sorcerer is sexual
157 aberrance. The stories of naked individuals displaying them-
834 selves come to mind in this connection. In the mythology, when
[839] Coyote is accused rightfully of having had intercourse with his
mother-in-law, his rejoinder is, "That's witch talk." It will be
[602] remembered that one who neglects to hide from his avoidance
relatives, or who is too familiar with the mate of a sibling or a
cousin, runs the risk of being named a witch. Nor was it an ac-
cident that the tempters who offered a sorcerer's tongue were
unclothed.

754 Incest is promptly equated with witchcraft. Of a person ac-
835 cused of marrying a close relative, an informant said, "In my
opinion he must be a witch, and the tribe accuses him of that be-
cause he married a close relative. People are afraid of him."
Another commentator declared: "In cases of incest, people say,
'They must be witches to do a thing like that.' I have heard sev-
eral people who are accused of incest referred to as witches.
They say, 'Even some witches wouldn't do that.' "

754 Public exposure and beatings are the mildest punishments
684 meted out to those discovered in incest. Just as often the ex-
treme penalty is demanded.

If two persons committed incest and were found out, a crowd would gather, and any headman would say, "I know those two had intercourse together; get them!" Everyone considered them witches, and they were burned. Incest sometimes goes before a council of people and sometimes the parents kill them outright. Usually the parents handle them.

[586] If they are distant relatives and did not know they were related and find it out after they marry, they go apart. That has happened often, I have heard. But if they know it and everybody knows they are relatives and they marry anyway, in the old days they would kill both of them as witches. That's what N. used to tell us happened before there were white men and law.

539 A "love-death" story is told of a man who could not face the
835 wrath of his relatives after misconduct with his sister:

762 In the old days there were a brother and sister, children of the same parents, who had been lying together. The people were suspicious of them for a long time. The young man thought that the old people knew about them, although they really did not. He knew that if they were caught, a terrible punishment would come, so he took this way out.

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OWNERSHIP OF GOODS, TRADE, AND GIFT-GIVING

Not all individuals display an equal willingness to engage in every task that has been described. Shiftless persons have to be exhorted to better efforts by their spouses, relatives, and friends. Concerning a man whose laziness is proverbial, an informant remarked: "I heard his wife begging him to get out and work. She said, 'We're hungry. We haven't anything to eat.' I never was lazy like that man."

The strong group loyalty of kin, and the feeling that food should not be withheld from the hungry, save the family of the unproductive individual from acute suffering. "They just live poorer, that's all." And, since both the man and the woman work, remissness on the part of one is often compensated for by the redoubled efforts of the other. Here it is that the relatives of the partner who is being imposed upon step in to prevent his abuse. The kin of a woman whose husband is economically worthless to them are likely to bring pressure upon her ending either in more significant contributions from the man or in a divorce. If the fault lies with the woman, the husband's relatives remind him of the more satisfactory way in which he lived before his marriage, and he feels that he has grounds for divorce.

Ordinarily, however, ridicule is enough to force the unenterprising into moderate conformity:

> If there is a lazy man who doesn't work but lives off the others instead, they give things to him all right, but at the same time they talk to him, telling him that he's able-bodied and has a family and should help himself and hunt and take care of himself. They scold him and shame him and try to make him change. A man like that usually changes; there are lots of them. Many of them don't even go to war, but prefer to stay at home with the women. Some make excuses and act sick and do things like that so they won't have to work.

The products of an individual's industry, skill, and daring are, in theory at least, his own. The dwelling and the domestic articles she has made belong to the woman. How she disposes of baskets, water jars, and parfleches is strictly her business, and her actions are seldom disputed by her husband. The only limitation on her rights is that her own household be reasonably well equipped. Likewise, those things which a man makes or obtains

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MARITAL AND SEXUAL LIFE

PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE 593

THE common term for mate, used reciprocally by husband and wife is "companion," or, literally, "one with whom I go about." Their joint concern in maintaining a home, rearing children, and securing the necessary household supplies requires close co-operation between them. Although [562] men receive greater deference in public and women are subordinated to them in many ways, at home the feeling tone is usually one of equality between husband and wife.

Occasionally, in spite of the fact that women are considered [562] more unstable than men, "easier to tempt," and more prone to quarrel over trivial things, the wife may be the dominant figure in an encampment. One extended family is continually referred [596] to by the name of the wife of the founding pair, though the husband is living. In this case, the man is very retiring and so is generally ignored. Of another man it was said, "Now he is a slave to his present wife; she cusses him out anywhere."

That a wife is in touch with her kinsmen and has a haven [602] available gives her an assurance in dealing with her husband which she might otherwise lack. If she is badly treated, she can [586] escape to her parents' dwelling, and they will permit her to stay there. Then "the man has to beg for his wife from the outside, and he may or may not get her back."

Still, parents are often unwilling to involve themselves in the 593 personal affairs of their married daughter unless the situation is 606 truly desperate. One father, though he complained of his son-in-law's conduct, seemed in no mood to give his daughter help:

> One time my daughter came in and began crying to me. She said, "That man beat me again. I am not going back to him! I don't want to live with him any more!" I told her, "I told you not to marry that man, but now that you have done it, you had better go over there and take your medicine."

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They tell this story of a certain man. They say he was J.'s grandfather. He married and when he and his wife went to bed the first night, he just turned away from her. She didn't think much of it at first. Then he did the same thing the second night. Every night she thought he was coming to her, but he turned the other way instead. He did this for seventy-five nights, and then she left him.

BIRTH CONTROL, BARRENNESS, AND FERTILITY RITES

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A childless marriage is considered a great misfortune, and sterility is an accepted cause for divorce. Sterility in a woman is sometimes attributed to a ceremony conducted over her in girlhood by envious or scheming adults.[2] But often a disappointed husband wonders whether his wife "has hired a man or woman who knows herbs and a ceremony to make her sterile, so that she won't be bothered by children:"

> I have heard old people say that some women can perform a ceremony for another woman, and she will have no children no matter how many men have intercourse with her. Girls of about the age of puberty go through it, and older women who have too many children go through it too. They have a medicine to drink and a ceremony that goes with it that will prevent birth forever. Certain people practice this ceremony. It has to be paid for like any other ceremony.

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Various methods for the prevention of pregnancy have been described. "Rock crystal is used as a medicine when a woman does not want a child. The rock is ground up fine, and some of the powder is put in a drink. There are prayers and a ceremony connected with this, but I do not know them." A certain variety of small prickly-pear cactus fruit, because it is rare and its fruits are said not to ripen, is magically associated with these practices.

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Food or behavior restrictions imposed as a part of such ceremonies must be carefully observed. "If a woman is avoiding pregnancy by keeping away from some food or drink, such as honey, and breaks this fast, she will become pregnant." It is noteworthy that honey should be specifically mentioned as one of the foods prohibited if a woman wants no children, for beeswax is said to be "used ceremonially to cure sterility in women."

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Because of the prevailing desire for children and the insecurity of a childless woman, fecundity ceremonies are of much more frequent occurrence. In one of these rites the practitioner cere-

[2] See pp. 80–81.

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842 monially feeds one egg (now a hen's egg) and the testicle of a
[788] rabbit to her client each day. This is accompanied by the throw-
[782] ing of pollen to the directions and appropriate prayers. According to the account, "she does this a few days, and then the woman is with child."

A ceremony performed by an old woman resulted, one man and his wife feel sure, in the birth of their only child:

> My wife was eager to have children. She didn't do anything about it at first. But four or five years after our marriage we had an old woman perform a ceremony over her. It was held at the camp of the old woman in the springtime of the year, when everything comes to life. The ceremonial woman blew smoke to the directions first. Then she used pollen. The ceremony was prayer mostly. My wife had to eat some chicken eggs.

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Childless marriages are sometimes attributed to male sterility:

[826] > It's not only the rich blood [semen] of a man that causes him to have children. Yusn has made it that way. When it's going to be that way, it's going to be that way. I've heard some men say that, if Yusn doesn't want it to happen, you won't get children.

Informants have cited cases of the divorce of childless couples, after which the woman has remarried and borne children, while the second union of the man is as unproductive as the first:

• [586] > Sometimes each blames the other if there are no children; a woman sometimes holds a man to blame for this and divorces him. Who is to blame is found out soon enough, for they marry others and prove the truth.

Such instances provide proof that "some men are unable to give children." The sterile man tries to overcome his misfortune. "A man might get treatment [ceremonial] for sterility too."

JEALOUSY AND EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

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837 To judge from the number of instances which have been reported, extra-marital affairs are not infrequent and usually lead to tension between husband and wife. "Jealousy and consequent quarreling are grounds for divorce. Jealousy is the foundation of divorce. Women are more to blame than men; they nag more." Despite this pronouncement, actual cases of jealousy seem to be quite evenly divided between the sexes. Of one man it is said:

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"He had his house built far from the other camps because he is jealous. He has a young pretty wife and he doesn't want anyone around." Undue precautions which ended in divorce are attributed to another man. "N.'s first wife is married to another man now. N. was abusing her all the time. He even took her out hunting with him in winter when it was cold, he was so jealous of her, and he whipped her all the time." On one occasion a young married man was called aside by a woman. When he returned, he explained:

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That woman was telling me that her husband is jealous of her. This morning I was going past the hospital and I saw her sitting on the steps. I said, "Hello, what you are looking so angry about?" She didn't even answer, so I went on. Her husband saw us there and is accusing her of fooling around with me, she says.

The women are no less critical of mates whom they suspect of duplicity. One informant lamented, "My wife got jealous. I could not stand it. I had nothing to do with other women, but she was jealous." A man in danger of becoming involved in an affair with a girl some years his junior soon found that his wife was closely observing his progress:

About five years after I was married I got into a little flirtation with a girl I had known when I was younger. She tried to attract my attention. She met me at the store. She would talk a lot to me. It was kind of an adventure to me. She was eight or nine years younger than I was.

My wife heard about it. This girl hinted around that she wanted me to go farther with her. I could gather this from the way she talked. She would ask me to see her at night. She would name a meeting place. I never met her. I kept a cool head. If I hadn't, I would have been in serious trouble.

This went on for about a month, until my wife spoke to me about it. Once when she got angry she told me what she knew. She asked me if I had met the woman. I told her, "No." The next time I saw the girl I told her she was causing trouble for me and to let me alone.

In explaining why a certain man declined an invitation to go on a trip, my informant remarked:

His wife probably isn't sick, but she is pretty unreasonable about such things and just doesn't want him to go. She is very jealous. He wants to be like most of the other men and go out a great deal, but he has to stay home to keep peace in the family. She imagines all sorts of things that are not true. He and his wife live near her mother. Once his wife made things so miserable for him that he left.

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The birth of twins is considered evidence of unfaithfulness: 845 837

If any woman has twins, she is looked upon as having run with other men besides her husband. My sister is one of a pair of twins.[4] The other died a few days after birth. I think they were both girls. The older one died. I never heard my father say anything about it. One twin would not be kept. We believe that both could not grow up; one would die. They keep the boy if the twins are a boy and a girl.

Sometimes twins are born. Twins are considered unlucky. Twins cannot grow up; they always die. Unfaithfulness on the part of the woman causes twins. Sometimes one of the twins is stillborn.

If it is the husband who is philandering, his wife scolds him and complains to her close relatives. But the man is in no danger of a beating or of mutilation. Few wives take desperate action of any kind: 837

If the husband is unfaithful and is discovered by his wife, his wife may say to him, "Well, you love the other woman better than me; go and marry her." Or she might let it go and forget and forgive entirely. The women don't have power to do much to the men. A very mean woman might stab her husband at night or something like that. The people wouldn't blame her much, because it is the husband's fault. But only a very hard-up man would marry the woman after this; so that keeps women from killing their husbands. [562] [684] [626]

However, a woman who is very much angered by her husband's conduct can send him away: 837 586

I heard the quarrel at the time. She told him, "You think you're going to have this woman and myself for your wives, and you think you're going to stay with this woman one time and with me another time. You think you're going to go back and forth between us two wives. You are mistaken! You might pull that on somebody else, but not on me. So you'll marry that woman. Go right ahead and marry her. Our married life is over; we'll quit here. You'll leave this house without anything and go and live with that woman." She sent him away.

It is apparent that both husband and wife are in a position to demand fair play and to take appropriate action. Enough feeling of self-importance and competence has been communicated to individuals of both sexes during the training period, so that no one is willing to accept humiliation as a matter of course.

The permanent disruption of a household involves the entire 000

[4] The informant is not here impugning the virtue of his own mother, since this is a half-sister, the offspring of his father's second wife.

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593 596 606 586 The permanent disruption of a household involves the entire extended family; therefore, the woman's relatives watch anxiously any developments which may deprive them of the services of a satisfactory son-in-law. Their tendency is to support the woman in minor disputes; but, when she is obviously in the wrong, they are just as likely to side with the husband and to remind their relative of her wifely duties:

> I feel sorry for that boy, my son-in-law. He's a good boy and steady, and I know he is trying to do the right thing. But my girl is not doing what she should. She's not keeping house in the right way and she is beginning to run around. She thinks I don't know it. I'm going to put a stop to it.

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DIVORCE

The word for divorce can be translated "they walk away from each other." To divorce a person is "to throw him (her) away." The woman is ordinarily left in possession of the home which she has built, the household utensils which she has made, and her private effects. If the trouble has been long continued, the husband is willing enough to leave the encampment of his wife's relatives. He takes with him his personal possessions only; there is no return of marriage gifts at divorce.

The most common causes of divorce and the procedure have been summarized in these words:

> Unfaithfulness on the part of husband or wife, brutal treatment on the part of either, and nagging are causes for trouble and divorce. Laziness on the part of either, failure of the man or woman to do the proper share toward the support of the home, and excessive gambling on the part of the man are other things that lead to divorce. Barrenness on the part of the woman is sometimes given as a cause too.
>
> The one who intends to break it up just goes, taking what valuable personal belongings he has. It's about half and half; sometimes women divorce men; sometimes it's the men who leave. Divorce just consists of getting up and leaving.

Additional factors and details are given in another comment:

> Usually divorce follows if a woman cannot work well or if she is cranky and hard to get along with. Sterility is also a cause for divorce, and frigidity too, for men don't like that kind of a woman. Even if a woman is sweet and a good worker, a man could divorce her for sterility or for frigidity. If she is sterile, a woman might get on with her husband for a while, but he will soon divorce her. Pretty soon she'll be passed from man to man, and she isn't respected.

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With divorce, each person takes his own belongings without fuss and goes to his and her old home. This did not often happen. The woman has little power to stop a divorce if her husband wants one. Even if she doesn't want a divorce her husband can get up and leave. If the woman wants to leave and the man doesn't want her to, he can try to hold her by force. But she can usually get away to her parents' home. 586

Impotence as well as frigidity may be an important factor in divorce decisions: 586 833

When a man can't get an erection, it is attributed to witchcraft. If it can't be cured, this might be the real reason back of a divorce. [754]

If a woman marries an impotent man, she may stay married to him for wealth or something, but most likely they would separate.

After divorce, though a man must continue the avoidances and polite forms which his marriage brought into being, the material hold of his former wife's relatives is at an end: 586 602 606

If a man is determined to divorce his wife, or if she insists on divorcing him, the parents-in-law cannot very well stop it. All the obligations of the man to support the woman's family stop at divorce. He cannot be made to marry any sister or girl cousin of his wife at any time in the future.[1] But avoidances and polite forms go on. Both the man and the woman are free from each other and from each other's families as soon as the divorce has gone through, as soon as they have separated. They can each marry as soon as they wish again then. [595] [587]

The presence of children acts as a decided brake to divorce action. "In the old days it was pretty hard to get a divorce when there were children. It was not often done then." 586

If, in case of divorce, the mother's relatives are willing to contribute to the support of the children and the mother is willing to maintain her household, this is considered the best solution. Though there is no definite rule, there is the feeling that children should be under the care of the mother and her kin during their formative years. Babies who are not yet weaned always remain with the mother, and, in general, very young children are likely to stay with her. Sometimes older children, particularly boys, are claimed by the father. When the man can charge that the woman is at fault and has not been a fit parent, public opinion and the pressure of group leaders force acquiescence on the part of the wife and her relatives. [626]

[1] For a discussion of the sororate see pp. 421–25.

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586 of the wife and her relatives. Wealth may even decide the issue; [556] where the relatives of the wife are poor and the man and his kin have greater resources, the husband may take a child with him at the dissolution of the marriage.

[589] [589] The divorced man returns to his parental home or stays with some close relative. Unless he is well along in years, he soon marries again.

589 587 [602] The chief loser in a divorce action is the woman. For at least part of her sustenance she is now once more dependent on her own relatives, who, too, have lost economic assistance. Because she is now an experienced woman with a record of marital difficulties, it is unlikely that a new husband will offer presents to her parents. Should she fail to be married again soon, her reputation [578] suffers. The word meaning "single woman who has been married before" (divorcée, widow) has an unsavory connotation. "This word would only be used to a single woman who was married before, and never to one who is single in the sense that she has [558] not married at all yet. The word is more or less of an insult, and a person would not use it to a woman whom he respects."

589 Because unmarried girls are carefully guarded, the promiscuous women are usually divorcées and widows who have failed to remarry. From them the community and their kin do not exact the same high standards of conduct demanded of the unmarried [504] girls: "At a drinking party there might be a young divorced woman, but it is very unlikely that any unmarried girl would [848] attend. Young men attend though." Divorced women are thought more likely to have illegitimate children than the unmarried: "After a first marriage a woman might have children out of wedlock, but that kind of woman is not liked."

587 583 [584] Marriage can be more easily contracted with a divorced woman than with a maiden. The waiving of marriage gifts has already been noted. Less pressure upon relatives and less persuasiveness are required in arranging such a match. The celebration of a military victory or the social dance of a puberty rite may even be the occasion for a very informal union with a divorced woman:

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There is no real ranking of wives, though the first, because she is usually older, might have more to say. The wives live in one encampment but in separate households. When a man has two wives, the one he married first is called "she who sits first." The second wife is called "she sits on her." It really means that she is going to help, to sit next to the other woman. That's how we feel about it.

N., a leader who died about ten years ago, had two wives at the same time. He had them right through the time we were at Fort Sill. The wives and children got along well. He had children by both women, and they lived in peace.

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When there is more than one wife, the children of one call the children of the others *šiKis* and *šilah*. If a second wife is the sister or cousin of the first, the children of one call the other woman "aunt" and are called "niece" and "nephew" by her.

If their father's other wife is no relative of their mother, they call her "stepmother."[6] The husband calls the children of both of these women "son" and "daughter." The real mother calls her own children "son" and "daughter" too.

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If a man marries a second sister, he does not have to give more presents. If he marries outside his first wife's family, he does have to give presents though.

The subject of plural wives drew this statement from an elderly man:

Most men have one wife. . . . . The limit is about five. If a man can afford it, he might have more, because there is no rule, but the greatest number of wives I ever heard of is four or five, and the greatest number I've actually known about is only two or three. Just because a man marries the eldest of several sisters, he has no claim on the others. Of course, he might marry a sister of his wife if he is ready to marry again and both are willing.

When a man has more than one wife, the first wife is respected more than the others, providing she has children. She acts like the boss and can order the other wife around. If the first wife has no children and the second one has, the second wife would probably be liked better, and in time the first one might be divorced. If one of a man's wives dies, the other wife or wives help to raise her children. They are not adopted by anyone else.

[586] [597]

Though all agree that sororal polygyny is preferable, there is some difference of opinion concerning the strictness with which the rule should be applied. A strong feeling for the custom is expressed thus: "A man can have more than one wife. If there is one available for him, he has to marry a wife's sister if he takes a second wife. He marries the oldest sister usually. They all live

[6] One term, a self-reciprocal, means both stepmother and stepchild, woman speaking.

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587 602 "Now you are 'bound to me.' If you are willing, we will get married." She would come to him personally. Then there would be no presents, no wait, no feast; they just begin living together.

But if she lets several years pass without asking him, it would be a sign that she does not want to marry him. In this case, he knows that they are willing to let him go, to let him marry outside that family.

The man usually goes and asks permission of his dead wife's family if he wants to marry out of it. Even if his dead wife's people have no more girls and he wants to marry again, he will have to let her parents know what he wants to do as a matter of courtesy.

The family of the dead woman cannot force the man to marry anyone other than a relative of his former mate, however:

If the dead wife has no sister, the man may be forced by his in-laws to marry whom they say, and he won't object as long as it is a relative of his wife. But if they have no relatives for him to marry and they suggest another girl, he isn't bound to obey.[9]

If there are two sisters of the dead wife left and they both want him, he takes the one he pleases. He practically always takes the older though. But it's the woman who has the say; if she objects to the man, he doesn't marry her, of course.

The degree of control which the family of the deceased exercises is further explained in another statement:

If the widower has nobody to stand up for his rights, his in-laws can make it tough for him and see that he can't marry anybody else if he won't marry his [586] sister-in-law. He might marry her, however, and if they don't get along, they can divorce—and that is the man's chance to get free.

[768] When a man's wife dies, the children usually go to a female relative of the wife to be cared for. Later, if the man marries again out of the family, he can get his children back. But if he marries out of the family, he can't get married again until a year or two after his wife has died. It depends on how soon her relatives will let him marry again. If you marry out of that family, you have to wait a long time. If a man loved his wife, he wouldn't want to remarry for a long time anyway. Only a bad one, a low-down cuss who was not brought up right, would remarry soon.

587 602 765 The long mourning and waiting period which must elapse before a man may marry someone who is not a relative of his first wife is again emphasized in another comment:

[597] [9] But a sister by adoption may be considered a blood relative for these purposes: "If a girl adopted into a family has a 'sister,' at her death her husband would be 'bound' to this sister."